Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIII - No. 39 | NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1949 | PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Devaluation Will Bring New Surge Of Mass Struggle

By John G. Wright

The eruption of the British monetary crisis into the open has precipitated a world monetary crisis. That is the meaning of currency devaluation by one country after another that has been touched off by the devaluation of the pound sterling. Other countries (in the first instance Latin America) are still to follow suit.

The full burden of the monetary crisis is to be unloaded on the mass of the British and European workers. All the goverments, including the Laborites, are committed to freezing wages, the price of labor power, the only commodity the workers have to sell. The position of these workers is thus rendered truly intolerable. They must and will resist.

This means an acute sharpening of the class struggle. The initial rumblings, spreading discontent and renewed demands for higher wages have already come. In Britain, the conservative trade union bureaucracy is under pressure from the ranks to insist on the justified demands. In France, the collaborationist "independent" labor federation (Force Ouvriere) has begun talking with an hitherto unfamiliar militancy. From all indications, the unfolding monetary crisis will bring in its wake a new and perhaps gigantic wave of strike struggles and political ferment in Britain and on the continent.

DOUBLE SQUEEZE

For there is one consequence of devaluation that is already a dread reality for all the peoples whose governments have resorted to this measure — and that is, the virulent resurgence of INFLATION. Caught up again in the inflationary spiral are first of all basic necessities and raw materials. European and other peoples who depend on their supply of foodstuffs and raw materials on the countries in the dollar sphere now find themselves caught in a double squeeze.

Their inflation is fed not only by debased currency and the manipulations of speculators at home but also by the automatically higher cost of all imports from the U. S. and the "dollar sphere" as a whole.

Higher prices and new savage slashes in their already intolerably low living conditions are an immediate threat to the mass of the people in Britain, in Western Europe and elsewhere throughout the world. To the extent that the world monetary crisis deepens, this inflationary scourge is bound to strike harder and harder. This will act to increase mass discontent and resistance.

The promises of the Laborite government to hold the price line are as worthless and fraudulent as have been all the similar postwar promises that have been and will be made to the British and other European peoples. The sharp rise of bread prices in England is only a harbinger of what is to come there and elsewhere.

HAD TO EXPLODE

It was a foregone conclusion that Britain's fiscal troubles — themselves not the cause but the product of the economic blind-alley in which decrepit British capitalism finds itself — had to explode sooner or later. It was likewise widely recognized that the devaluation of the pound would come as a necessary consequence.

Devaluation is a "classic" capitalist remedy for temporarily averting national bankruptcy.

(Continued on page 2)

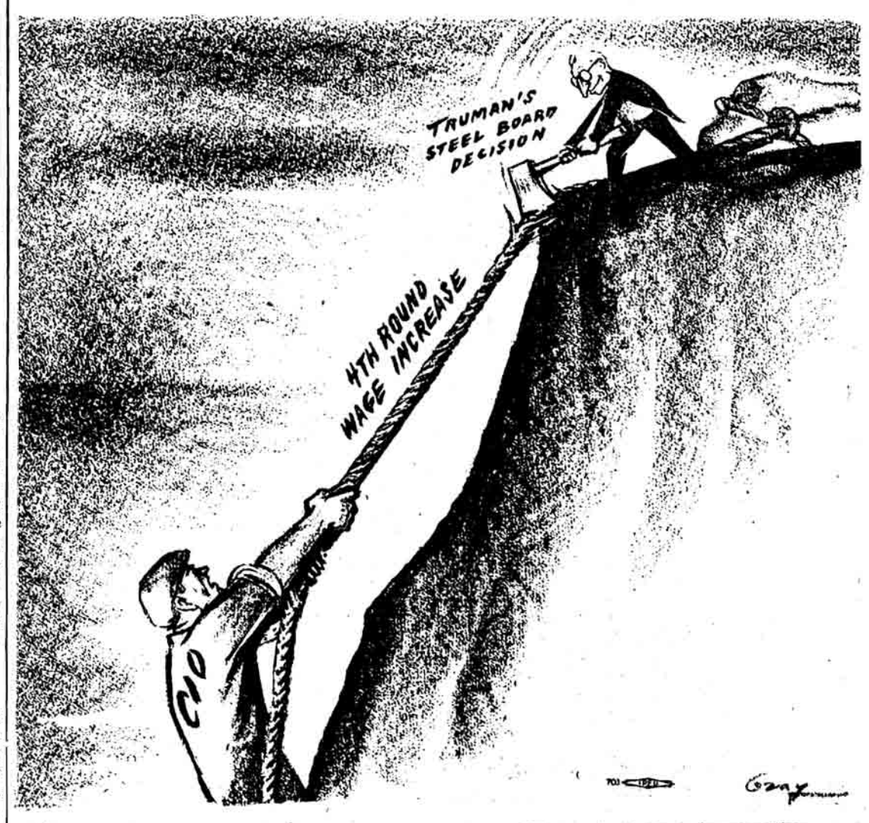
Another "Liberal" On Supreme Court

Truman's choice of Federal Judge Sherman Minton for the U. S. Supreme Court justiceship left vacant by the death of Wiley B. Rutledge has been hailed by soft-headed liberals.

One of Minton's chief claims to fame is his chairmanship of Truman's "fact-finding" board in April 1948 which "found" that the United Mine Workers had "violated" the Taft-Hartley Law in going on strike. This paved the way for contempt verdicts and heavy fines.

Minton was also a member of the Federal Appeals Court panel which upheld the constitutionality of the Taft-Hartley anti-communist affidavits. This decision is being appealed to the Supreme Court.

Mine Strike Strengthens Hand Of Steel Workers



Forces Murray to Insist on Minimum Pension Concession

By Art Preis

Once again the country's 480,000 militant coal miners have taken the lead in defense of the standard of living and rights of American labor. With the slogan, "No Welfare, No Work!", the miners on Sept. 19 shut down the pits. They are demanding a new improved contract and the payment of all royalties due the miners' welfare fund from defaulting Southern operators.

The determined fighting action of the United Mine Workers comes at a most crucial moment for America's industrial workers, whose drive for "fourth round" wage increases and adequate health and pension funds has been dealt a treacherous and crippling blow by the report of Truman's steel "fact-finding" board.

With the example of the miners before them, the workers in steel, auto, rubber and other basic industries are bound to take heart in their own struggles to win some form of security during illness and old age. Since the miners walked out there has been a marked stiffening of morale among the workers of other industries. This is evidenced, in part, by the beginning of "wildcat" strikes in Pittsburgh steel plants against the demoralizing stalling by CIO Steel Workers leaders, the Truman administration and the steel corporations.

SHARP CONTRAST

The battle of the United Mine Workers, headed by John L. Lewis, to maintain their company-financed pensions of $100 a month at retirement age of 62 and to increase the amount of company contributions, stands in sharp contrast to the failure of the CIO leaders to win any basic social gains for their members by the methods of running to Truman and of conciliation and compromise.

It is less likely now that CIO President Philip Murray will dare to jeopardize the last shreds of his prestige by agreeing to anything less than acceptance by the steel companies of the steel board's recommendations, miserable as these are, for company-financed health insurance and old-age pensions not to exceed a total cost of 10 cents an hour per worker.

Up to the day of the miners' walkout, Murray was desperately seeking to avoid a steel strike with a face-saving formula that, in effect, would have meant complete capitulation to the steel barons. In a statement released Sept. 19, Murray reiterated his plea to the steel companies that they agree to accept the steel board's recommendations as "a basis for settlement," adding, however, that "of course neither party is bound by these recommendations."

If this meant anything at all, it meant that the negotiations would be reopened with no assurance that the steel monopolists would accede even to the bare minimum recommended by the steel board.

Truman lent his weight to this interpretation. He told the press that the board's plan was intended as nothing more than "a guide for bargaining" and that there was a "decided difference between acceptance of the report as a basis for negotiations and acceptance outright."

Cyrus S. Ching, director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, then intervened to try to achieve accord between the union and the companies on the conditions for renewed negotiations. It was his opinion that the still existing difference sprang from the "meaning of words." There was a scramble for Webster's dictionaries to find out just what "basis" meant.

But the steel companies cut across the terminological confusion created by Murray's vague

(Continued on Page 4)

Ford Uses Report Of Steel Board As Basis of Offer

The immediate effect of Truman's Steel "Fact-finding" Board report is shown in the hardening of employer resistance in all industries to CIO demands for a "fourth round" wage increase and in the readiness of CIO leaders to accept the board's recommendations for meager pensions and health insurance.

Almost immediately following release of the steel board's report, the Ford Motor Company announced it was prepared to concede the CIO United Auto Workers no more than the maximum recommended by the board. Noting the "inescapable national effect" of the board's report, the Ford spokesmen said that wage increases were out. **Ford would offer only a "take-it-or-leave-it" concession of a 10-cent hourly insurance and pension plan — the 10 cents to include the 1¾ cents the company claims it is already paying into a welfare fund.**

UAW President Walter Reuther, it is reported, is ready to accept these terms, but is trying to dicker for a full 10 cents in addition to the 1¾ cents the company says it is already spending.

Ford is also holding out for a plan that would begin pension payments at the age of 68 — an age that would leave few Ford workers alive to enjoy any pension benefits, however meager. The amount of the pension would not be more than $70 a month. It is also reported that Ford is insisting on a contract of several years duration in return for this slim concession.

SWP in LA Urges Defense Guard for Robeson Concert

By Al Lynn

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 16 — The Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party today issued a call for an emergency united front conference of labor to discuss defense of the Paul Robeson concert scheduled here at Wrigley Field on Friday, Sept. 30. The concert is under the auspices of the California Eagle, a Negro newspaper which leans towards the Stalinists.

In a letter sent to more than 400 labor, minority and community organizations, SWP chairman Myra Tanner Weiss described the Peekskill outrages and proposed the following four-point program:

DEFENSE MEASURES

1. **The immediate convocation of an emergency conference of all unions, minority organizations, veterans organizations, community groups, etc., for the purpose of planning a unified defense of the Robeson concert.**
2. **The enlisting under the authority of such a conference, in co-operation with the sponsors of the concert, of a defense guard of 3000 picked men.**
3. **On the basis of the lesson of Peekskill the defense guard should pay special attention to the defense of the approaches to the meeting and to the departure of the crowd.**
4. **All organizations are asked to pass resolutions condemning the mob assault and the role of the police in the Robeson concert in Peekskill, and demanding the arrest and punishment of all identifiable participants in the mob. Copies of such resolutions to be sent to Gov. Dewey in New York.**

THE REAL ISSUE

"The issue is not Robeson's political beliefs," the SWP letter stressed. "The issue is the defense of democratic rights! Our party is 100% opposed to the Stalinist line of Robeson, but also 100% in favor of the defense of his democratic rights." It called attention to the bitter lessons of European fascism also.

A letter was sent to the Los Angeles local of the Communist Party, asking for a meeting of representatives of both organizations to discuss plans for a broad united front. So far, the Stalinists seem to be placing reliance upon the police force despite the Peekskill incidents which showed whose side the police were on.

DANGER SIGNALS

Almost two weeks in advance of the concert, a series of threats have already been recorded. A Santa Monica newspaper came out with an editorial to the effect that the Peekskill fascists had not gone far enough. A grudging retraction indicated that the paper's sentiments hadn't changed.

Leader of the Disabled American Veterans in Los Angeles wrote the owners of Wrigley Field to deny its use to Robeson for a meeting "which might be turned into a communist rally." This statement was protested by James Kutcher, who is a DAV member. Other evidences have been noted of reactionary elements who intend to disrupt the concert, in the light of which the Socialist Workers Party defense proposals have vital significance.

Yugoslavs Main Target Of Frameup in Hungary

The Kremlin has taken a long step toward bringing its cold war against Yugoslavia into the shooting stages. That is the political meaning of the Hungarian "treason trial" of Laszlo Rajk, former Hungarian Foreign Minister and seven other co-defendants, all of them former high government, party or army officials.

The conduct of the trial itself leaves no room for doubts who the real defendants are — they are Tito and his regime. Following the pattern of interminable and obviously fraudulent confessions which closely reproduce the technique employed in the notorious Moscow Trials of 1937-38, the actual defendants have been assigned the role of "convicting" not so much themselves as the Kremlin's political opponents in Yugoslavia.

THE CHARGES

Tito and his supporters are accused and will be condemned by the Hungarian court of a long and fantastic list of crimes including spying for the imperialists and plotting the military invasions of Hungary, Albania, other satellite states and the Soviet Union itself. Heading the roll of their alleged co-conspirators are, of course, the American imperialists, with Churchill and the Vatican figuring prominently. Among those dragged in for good measure is a new brain-child of Stalin's secret police, a mythical organization designated as "a Trotskyite Zionist movement."

As if to dispel all doubts of how determined the Kremlin is to draw a line of blood between itself and Yugoslavia, there is the campaign conducted in the official Soviet press around the Hungarian juridical frame-up. Not since the days of the Moscow Trials and the accompanying mass blood purges has so much space been devoted to coverage of trial proceedings.

Up to one-half of the space in such central dailies as Pravda and Isvestia has been reserved for verbatim reports of the "confessions" by Rajk and the others, accompanied by extensive commentaries, leading editorials, special feature articles, cartoons and the like.

All the attacks single out Tito and the Yugoslavs who are pictured, among other things, as "worse than Hitler." An example of this all-out onslaught reads as follows:

"WORSE THAN HITLER"

"The Titoists have not only continued but perfected the awful crimes of the Hitlerites. Hitler and his men acted straightforwardly. Tito has introduced into this the Machiavellian refinement of the Jesuits and the bloodthirstiness of the Turkish Janissaries [mercenary soldiers in the days of the Turkish Sultans]." **Indicative of the fury which Stalin's press is whipping up is the prominent use — for the first time in many years in the Russian press — of the term "Trotskyite" in connection with the Yugoslav opponents.**

Significantly enough the Krem-

(Continued on page 3)

CURRAN PRESSES PURGE DESPITE CONSTITUTION

BULLETIN

NEW YORK, Sept. 22 — Just before going to press, we are informed that the Curran machine today railroaded through the NMU convention a resolution to purge all "communists and other subversive groups." This action is a violation of the constitution and follows the failure of the Curran group to get the necessary two-thirds of the convention to support a purge amendment to the constitution.

By R. Bell

NEW YORK, Sept. 21 — The first eight days of the CIO National Maritime Union convention in New York revolved almost exclusively around repeated attempts by President Joseph Curran and his machine to bind and gag the members of the union in a totalitarian straitjacket. The Curranites opened all stops to create an atmosphere of anti-communist hysteria and warmongering frenzy designed to terrorize the opposition and intimidate the delegates into surrendering the democratic rights of the membership. That they did not quite succeed is a tribute to the sailors who stood up in one roll call vote after another and registered their opposition.

On the very first day of the convention, the opposition defeated a Curran proposal, to suspend the rules for the purpose of introducing a "loyalty oath" resolution. This tricky resolution devised to stampede the delegates into supporting the so-called anti-communist amendments which were to follow. With all convention committees in the hands of Curran supporters, the "loyalty oath" resolution became the first order of business after the organization of the convention.

The resolution was in line with the "cold-war" propaganda of the American State Department and called on the convention to "reaffirm its faith in the United States and what it stands for." Opposition delegates warned that the resolution was a "booby-trap" designed to blitzkrieg the convention into supporting the "anti-communist" purge. They warned that Curran was using the "loyalty oath" maneuver to set the stage for his step-by-step strategy of introducing one restrictive measure after another until the union was caught in a bureaucratic vise.

This warning was borne out when the constitution committee came in immediately after with an amendment to bar candidates for membership in the union who belonged to any "Nazi, Fascist, or Communist organizations." In elaborating on the amendment Curran emphasized the "s" on the word "organizations" and stated that from time to time they would list those organizations to which the ban would apply. As night followed day, the "subversive list" would follow the "loyalty oath." That much was made clear.

The first anti-communist amendment applied only to candidates seeking membership in the union. It was declared adopted by a vote of 405 to 189 although the ruling was challenged because the abstentions were not included in the total voting. If those that abstained had been counted the amendment would have lacked the necessary two-thirds to carry.

The next step was to bring in another amendment to expel those already in the union for "mem-

(Continued on page 4)

More Output, Same Pay--Truman's Doctrine

By Joseph Keller

"More Production!" has been the stock answer of industrialists, government economists and capitalist politicians to every demand for higher wages. Higher wages can come only from higher output, they have been preaching and propagandizing for many years.

Conservative union leaders, both AFL and CIO, have echoed this dogma of capitalist exploitation. It is a virtual creed of the AFL Executive Council. And within the past two years even a CIO leader like Walter Reuther, who pictures himself as almost a "socialist," has raised this slogan of "More Production!"

But no sooner do workers point to mounting productivity to justify their demands for higher wages, than the spokesmen and defenders of capitalist profits begin to hem and haw. Well, really, when they said higher productivity is the only basis for raising wages, they didn't mean that any and every rise in productivity justifies higher pay.

Take the case of the steel workers. Their representatives presented to Truman's "fact-finding" board a monumental pile of data, based on the most elaborate government studies and reports, to prove that labor productivity in the steel industry rose 49.5% from 1939 to 1949, while the real wages (wages in terms of actual purchasing power) increased only 14%.

Even if these facts are true, the "fact-finders" declare in their report, that doesn't mean the steel workers should get any more pay. Not on your life! Because, says the board, "wage rates in a particular industry should not be tied directly to productivity in that industry but rather should be related to the general industrial rise in productivity. . ."

The board then digs up a set of figures to show that for "our whole national economy" the increase in man-hour output has been less than for the steel industry. It concludes: "Therefore, the steel workers' rise. . . in real hourly earnings during this decade is fairly consonant with the apparent rise in labor productivity in the whole economy during the same period. . ." To deny the steel workers a raise, therefore, says the board, "reflects no inequity."

No matter how much the steel workers sweat and strain, no matter how much they are speeded up, no matter how much they increase their output per hour of labor, they cannot hope for any additional benefits to themselves.

But does this apply to the steel monopolists? Are their profits limited according to the rise in productivity of the "whole economy?" On the contrary. While productivity in the steel industry rose 49.5% in a decade — and the steel board denies that it was even that much — the steel industry's profits increased, according to the board, "124% above the 1940-41 average" in the first half of 1949.

In other words, all the added value created by the higher productivity of the steel workers is going into the coffers of the steel corporations by way of profits that have soared three times as much as the rate of productivity.

The steel board doesn't bat an eye at this stupendous increase of steel profits in relation to steel productivity. It doesn't say one word in favor of freezing the steel barons' profits, as it proposes to freeze the steel workers' wages, on the basis of the productivity of the "whole economy."

ARGUMENT FOR BOSSES

On the contrary, the steel board goes out of its way to provide arguments in defense of the steel monopolists' profits. While it dismisses the union's argument that real wages have risen only 14% in 10 years, it covers up for the 124% rise in steel profits by arguing that these "must be substantially discounted" because "1949 dollars . . . are considerably less valuable than those of 1939 or 1940 or 1941. . ." In fact, the board claims, steel profits "are not out of line with comparable pre-war years."

But no matter how high steel profits may be, that's beside the point, says the board. Ability to pay higher wages has nothing to do with it. Because, you see, "it is necessary also to consider the low level of profits in other years of the business cycle." Profits may some day decline and the bosses must be covered for the future.

So the board has safeguarded the monopolists from every angle. You can't raise wages on the basis of past and present profits; you can't raise wages on the basis of future profits; you can't raise wages on the basis of the productivity of an industry; you can't raise wages because it may cause a depression; and you can't raise wages because it might cause an "inflationary boom." You just can't raise wages — period.

That's the real meaning of the "economic doctrine" expounded by Truman's steel board.

Next Week:

Further reports on the CIO electrical, rubber and maritime union conventions.

* * *

Fundamental aspects of the Peekskill outrage analyzed by J. Meyer.

* * *

Other articles on Yugoslavia, New York elections, the Council of Europe, etc.

* * *

Extra copies only 3c each in bundles of five or more.

Detroit Election Results Set-Back for CIO Policy

DETROIT, Sept. 15 — The unexpectedly low vote for CIO-backed mayoralty candidate George Edwards, Detroit Common Council President, and the adoption of a "loyalty" oath amendment to the City Charter were the most important results of the Sept. 13 primary election here.

Edwards, though still in the running, trailed AFL-backed Alfred E. Cobo, incumbent City Treasurer, by 56,000 votes. Edwards got 113,262 votes to Cobo's 169,674 and little chance is given him for victory in the run-offs.

Local followers of Walter Reuther, CIO auto union president who laid down the policy of supporting Edwards instead of a genuinely independent labor candidate, are stunned almost to silence. They can only complain that the workers did not turn out to vote for "their man."

NO INCENTIVE

The workers, however, had no incentive to vote for Edwards, a leader of Americans for Democratic Action which works within the corrupt, capitalist-dominated Democratic Party. The Edwards campaign committee made no special appeal to labor, played up Edwards' personal "merits" and concentrated on appeasing the capitalist class.

In his efforts to achieve "respectability" in the eyes of the businessmen, Edwards, a one-time Socialist and former member of the UAW, drafted and campaigned for the "loyalty" oath amendment, which requires an oath based on Truman's "subversive" list as a requisite for municipal employment.

So much did the Edwards campaign cater to the anti-labor hysteria, that the CIO-PAC issued its main campaign literature in another name. The CIO Council distributed literature in its own name only in local unions.

Mort Furay, United Public Workers regional director, who was the Stalinist-backed candidate for mayor, secured only 4,404 votes. This is an indication of the disrepute in which the Stalinists are held in the Detroit labor movement, where they once wielded important influence.

COUNCIL VOTE

Four out of seven CIO-backed candidates were among the 18 nominees who will participate in the run-offs for City Common Council. Included among the four is former Mayor Jeffries, whom the CIO and UAW tried to defeat for mayor several years ago because of his viciously anti-labor and anti-Negro record while in office.

Association with such candidates served only to undermine the campaign of the two union candidates on the CIO slate for Common Council — Al Barbour, CIO Council Secretary, and James H. Brown, Negro labor leader and Vice-President of the Press Steel Unit of Ford Local 600 — who failed to place among the top 18 who will be in the runoffs.

That the workers did not pour out for Edwards is true. But that they voted in large numbers, contrary to the CIO-PAC claims, is shown by the fact that the primary elections drew the largest vote in Detroit history. Many CIO workers obviously felt Edwards was not "labor's man" and voted for other candidates.

More serious than the low-vote set-back for the political ambitions of Edwards, was the failure of the labor movement to defeat the employer-sponsored, Edwards-written, "loyalty" amendment to the City Charter.

Although the main Reuther-dominated CIO unions were officially on record for a "No" vote on the "loyalty" oath, the CIO leaders actually did not lift a finger to try to defeat the amendment. To have done so would have embarrassed "their man" Edwards. The CIO Council, which had voted to oppose the "loyalty" amendment, did not issue a single piece of literature against it.

Aside from the Stalinist-dominated Civil Rights Congress and Progressive Party, only the Socialist Workers Party conducted an aggressive fight against the "loyalty" amendment. The SWP distributed 10,000 copies of The Militant calling for defeat of the amendment at the Labor Day parade a week before the elections.

ONE-FOURTH AGAINST

In spite of the silence of the CIO leaders on this issue, more than one-fourth of the voters, 78,783, displayed the courage and good sense to vote against the charter amendment and for the defense of civil rights. This opposition to the amendment was so sizable that even the Detroit News **indicated its surprise and disappointment that so many voters failed to succumb to the greatest red-baiting barrage in the history of the Detroit press.**

The indifference of the Detroit workers to the political fate of Edwards is due to the fact that they regard him as just another political careerist. Their enthusiasm could have been aroused only by a genuine labor candidate campaigning openly in defense of labor's living standards, for city improvements beneficial to the working people and for the civil rights of the city employees.

WHY YOU NEED "The Militant"

America's leading socialist weekly gives you:

- The straight, unvarnished facts about the trends in politics, economics and social issues of vital importance to every thinking worker.
- Genuine Marxist analyses that explain in simple language the big events of our time and reveal their basic meaning.
- Uncompromising exposes of the profiteers and their political hatchet-men in high office.
- The inside story of many of the major happenings in the labor movement that make headlines.
- A fighting program to combat the evils of monopoly capitalism.

The Militant presents the revolutionary socialist answer to the advancing depression and mass unemployment, persecution of racial and political minorities, the menace of fascism, and the threat of atomic destruction in another world war.

- A heartening vision of the bright new world which scientific socialism foresees and a practical way of speeding its realization.

THE MILITANT
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to **The Militant.** Enclosed is ☐ $1.00 for six months; ☐ $2.00 for one year.

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

State ..... Zone.....

Wallaceite Student Group Supports Defense of Kutcher

By Carol Pelham

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 19 — At a recent meeting of PSA (Psychology, Anthropology and Sociology Students for Wallace), a group of approximately 45 students at the University of California voted to send a telegram to James Kutcher's attorney, expressing their support of the legless veteran's struggle for his civil rights. The group requested that the telegram be filed with the attorney's brief when the case comes before the civil courts.

As an organization which now includes progressive-minded students regardless of their major field of study, PSA is currently waging a fight against the "loyalty" oath which is now being submitted to all faculty members and other employees of the University of California.

Invited to last Thursday's PSA meeting by a sympathetic student, James Kutcher spoke informally during the discussion period. After Kutcher described his experiences, a shrewd Stalinist in the audience quickly introduced a motion against "loyalty" oaths in general, hoping thereby to avoid the adoption of any specific motion supporting Kutcher.

OVERWHELMING SUPPORT

A young woman in the group, however, placed a motion on the floor supporting Kutcher's fight and requesting that a telegram be sent to his attorney. This motion was passed by an overwhelming majority of the students present, certain Stalinists in the audience even voting in favor.

Hence, it came as a complete surprise to the audience when a student Stalinist hack began to repeat the usual CP lies about the so-called "fascist" activities of the Trotskyites, including the slanderous charge that it was the "moral duty" of every member of the Socialist Workers Party to turn over to the FBI evidence against CP members and sympathizers. He concluded by saying that PSA should not support Kutcher.

These remarks brought an immediate reply from an SWP sympathizer in the audience. She contrasted the perfidious record of the Stalinists during the trial of the 18 SWP leaders in Minneapolis with the forthright position of the SWP defense of the CP leaders on trial in New York. She also called attention to the SWP attack on the Peekskill hoodlums at the Robeson concert and the SWP's efforts to form a united front with the CP and other working class and liberal organizations against the current attack on civil liberties in this country.

When she had finished, a number of students stated that the discussion initiated by the Stalinist was out of order and the chairman declared the discussion ended. One of the students again repeated the motion to support Kutcher (which had already passed) and the group again voted in favor of the original motion.

Although this was not correct parliamentary procedure, it was heartening to see that the scurrilous attack of the Stalinist had proved useless and had only degraded him in the eyes of the progressive students.

This incident points up the possibilities for enlisting many students in a militant struggle for civil liberties.

GM Victimizes 31 in Cadillac Work-Stoppage

DETROIT, Sept. 20 — General Motors victimized 31 workers with penalty lay-offs last week after more than 100 CIO United Auto Workers members in the Cadillac plant here held a brief work-stoppage to protest the "disciplining" of two workers for "absenteeism."

The stoppage, like a number of others that have occurred in GM plants recently, had a background of many long-standing grievances. The immediate cause was the penalizing of one worker who took time off to stay with a sick wife and another who himself was sick, as company records proved.

Reutherite international representatives and the local bargaining committee negotiated with the management which threatened to fire several workers and penalize the rest. The results of the negotiations were that two workers were given 90-day lay-offs; six were laid off for 30 days and 23 others for from one to eight days. 85 workers were given written reprimands.

The Reutherite local officers and bargaining committee agreed to accept these penalties without submitting them either to a meeting of the department involved or to a meeting of the local union.

They explained that they had accepted these penalties because in the negotiations an international representative had said that the workers had violated Paragraph 117 of the National GM Agreement, the infamous company-security clause.

At a special membership meeting of UAW Cadillac Local 22 on Sept. 18, the Reutherite leadership offered no effective program to answer the workers' grievances. They only gave lame excuses for accepting the penalties and lamented that the grievance procedure had not been followed.

A. T. Johnson, Reuther's successor as Director of the GM Division of the UAW, spoke at the meeting and put his stamp of approval on the "settlement" which victimized 31 workers. He said little on the workers' problems but gave an indication of the demands to be made on GM when negotiations open in a few months. **He said nothing about eliminating Paragraph 117 or any of the other weak sections of the present GM contract.**

READ
SUBSCRIBE
to the
Fourth International

Rent Hearings in New York

One thousand tenants and landlords jammed a New York City Rent Advisory Board hearing on a landlords' petition for citywide 15% rent increase. Tenants' spokesmen warned of rent strike if boost is granted.

BARTELL HITS LEHMAN ON CATHOLIC SCHOOL AID

NEW YORK, Sept. 17 — Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor, today condemned the attacks of ex-Governor Lehman and Mayor O'Dwyer on the Barden Bill for federal aid to education as "part of a cynical political deal in which Lehman and O'Dwyer have traded the principle of separation of church and state for a bloc of votes.

"The Socialist Workers Party," he declared, "takes an uncompromising stand against government subsidization of clerical institutions by so much as a single penny.

"Every candidate in the field must take a stand on this fundamental issue. Why does Vito Marcantonio remain silent? Could it be because he doesn't want to 'antagonize' the Catholic hierarchy in East Harlem?

"As the SWP candidate for Mayor, I will carry on an all-out fight against the campaign of the Catholic hierarchy to invade the organs of government, trade unions, educational institutions and cultural fields, in order to subject all of society to its reactionary domination. Where do you stand, Mr. Marcantonio? Speak up!

LEHMAN GIVES IN

"Lehman has capitulated to Cardinal Spellman," Bartell continued. "His nomination for the Senate by the Democratic Party machine was jeopardized by his clash with Spellman over the Barden Bill. On Sept. 11, Reverend Burns, a Jesuit priest, openly told an audience of 8,000 at the Shrine of North American Martyrs in Auriesville, N. Y., that they should vote only for those whose position on the Barden Bill was in accord with that of the Catholic Church and specified that he referred 'especially to the coming election to the exalted office of United States Senator.

"Lehman and his running mate O'Dwyer knuckled under," Bartell charged. "On Sept. 16 they declared their abject capitulation to the Catholic hierarchy. Lehman dug back into his record 13 years in order to comply with the demand of Reverend Burns that the candidate for Senator must have a pro-Catholic school record.

SPELLMAN'S DISTORTION

"Cardinal Spellman, notorious strikebreaker against the cemetery workers, opponent of any national health insurance plan, and bitter foe of the child labor amendments to the Constitution, poses as the defender of the interests of children in the parochial schools while he attempts to dig into the public treasury. His opposition to the Barden Bill on the grounds that it discriminates against Catholic schools in granting federal funds for transportation, lunches and health services to school children is based on a brazen falsehood. The Barden Bill contains no provisions for such auxiliary services to education for any schools. It covers only such matters as administration of schools, payment of teachers, etc. Spellman knows this. Lehman and O'Dwyer know this too.

"The real discrimination in the Barden Bill is not connected with the Catholic schools but consists in permitting federal funds to be utilized by states that brutally discriminate against and segregate millions of Negro children in education. Of this, however, Spellman, Lehman and O'Dwyer are completely and culpably silent.

"Newbold Morris declared himself in opposition to Lehman and O'Dwyer and in favor of the principle of separation of church and state. But he equivocated on the question of government funds to the Catholic schools for 'auxiliary services,' and found it politic to praise the Catholic Church as 'a light in a world of darkness'! As far as the Socialist-Workers Party is concerned, the Catholic Church as an instrument of the authoritarian clerical hierarchy is a dark and sinister totalitarian force."

DEVALUATION TO BRING NEW MASS STRUGGLES

(Continued from Page 1)

This has been staring Britain in the face, because her foreign trade has been dwindling, her gold reserves brought to the verge of depletion, and last but not least, because Wall Street has flatly refused to pump additional loans into the bottomless hole represented by the treasury of the Empire.

Notwithstanding official denials at home and abroad, it was U. S. pressure that led to the devaluation of the pound at this time. The Washington masterminds felt sure that they had sufficiently stabilized the rest of the capitalist world to restrict the repercussions of British devaluation to the countries in the "sterling bloc" and to achieve a relatively orderly readjustment, as happened, for instance, when French or Italian or other West European currencies were previously devaluated. These calculations proved completely unfounded.

At this writing it is impossible to deal with all the implications of the new, highly unstable and therefore highly critical situation that exists today as a consequence of the sudden "chain reaction" of devaluation.

Having arisen as an effect of world economic conditions, the monetary crisis now enters into the unfolding economic development as a major cause.

Suffice it to point out that at a single stroke a huge question mark has been placed over the boasted stability which Western Europe had allegedly achieved under the ECA. Most of these countries have been caught by surprise. Their national budgets have been thrown out of kilter. No one is able to tell today which country or group of countries may find itself presently compelled to juggle anew with its currency, whose instability has been so spectacularly revealed. In the long run, of course, even the almighty American dollar cannot remain unaffected.

EFFECT ON U. S. EXPORTS

There is still another huge question market placed over the world markets whose condition now borders on chaos. What will happen to American exports now that their prices have automatically risen by as much as 30% in relation to the devaluated currencies? Which country will be able to improve its position in relation to its competitors and which will suffer? These and similar questions will be settled in the course of an intensified struggle — virtual commercial wars — for foreign outlets under the new conditions.

So far as Britain is concerned, her position has hardly been improved. While the devaluation of the pound has lessened for the time being the pressure on her meager gold reserves, the prospects of possible gains in world trade have been practically nullified by the simultaneous devaluations of her major European competitors. The very same old problems, coupled with several new ones, are bound to recur with added force in the period ahead.

ALP Backs Republican Candidates in New York

Workers who thought that in this year's New York City election campaign the American Labor Party would act like an independent party of labor in struggle against the capitalist parties and politicians are in for a bitter disappointment.

On Sept. 19, Edmund H. H. Caddy, Republican candidate for District Attorney of Kings County, was placed on the ALP ticket. With a few pious words about his opposition to Jim Crow, etc., this Republican wheelhorse accepted the ALP nomination. This is only the latest addition to a growing list of ALP nominations of Republican and Democratic party machine candidates.

Last week, Republican Supreme Court Justice Giaconne was offered the ALP nomination and accepted.

A month ago, Joseph A. Boccia, Republican candidate for Municipal Court Justice in Manhattan's Eighth District, was likewise given the ALP nomination.

And shortly before that, Vito Marcantonio tried to sneak in one of his henchmen, Canio Lagalla, as a "sleeper" in the Democratic machine by supporting him for the post of Tammany District Leader of the northern end of the 16th A.D. in Harlem.

To top it all off, there is the glaring absence of any candidate on the ALP ticket for the post of U. S. Senator. Following the line of Henry Wallace, who refused to run against Lehman, the ALP is encouraging support of that Truman-Tammany candidate.

A CONSCIOUS POLICY

The 1949 record of the ALP proves beyond doubt that it is pursuing its past treacherous policy of deals and collaboration with capitalist parties and politicians. This record cannot be mistaken for a series of exceptions to the rule. It is part of a conscious policy. This is clearly stated in a public declaration on Sept. 19 by Leo P. Feinberg, Kings County ALP Chairman, when he declared that the ALP favors the endorsement of **"the best man regardless of party label."**

Feinberg is carrying out the line laid down by the real mentor and master of the ALP — the Communist Party — in a statement on its 1949 election policy which was printed in the July 22 **Daily Worker**: "We will support all candidates **regardless of political affiliation** [our emphasis] whose election will strengthen the camp of peace and democracy." The ALP slavishly follows this line which serves not the interests of the workers of New York but the foreign policy aims of the clique of bureaucrats in the Kremlin.

O'DWYER'S RECORD

The "best men" of the capitalist parties are the best enemies of labor. We need only cite the dismal results of the ALP support of William O'Dwyer in 1945.

In a radio speech on Sept. 7, Vito Marcantonio, Stalinist front man and boss of the ALP, who stumped for O'Dwyer in 1945, gave a part of this record. He accused O'Dwyer of breaking the strikes at the Brooklyn Trust Company, the American Machine and Foundry Company, the AFL United Financial Workers in Wall Street, the Packinghouse Workers and the taxicab drivers.

"Bill," said Marcantonio to O'Dwyer, "there is one difference between you and me. To you a picket line can be pushed around and has been pushed around in your administration. To me a picket line is a sacred line."

Marcantonio, however, failed to add, "And Bill, I and the ALP and the Communist Party helped to elect you to office as the 'best man' for labor."

Moreover, Marcantonio's indictment of O'Dwyer omitted any reference to the earliest strike-breaking period in the mayor's career. In January 1946, the first month after he took office, O'Dwyer sent hundreds of police into a brutal assault on the striking Western Union workers.

During his second month in office, when the tugboat workers went on strike, O'Dwyer worked overtime to create a state of panic in the city, appealed hysterically to Truman to seize the tugboats and offered police protection for strikebreakers.

O'Dwyer next turned his attention to the CIO Transport Workers Union which was attempting to win a contract for subway workers. In February 1946, his administration announced a decision not to recognize the union, and reported that it was preparing the city's greatest mobilization of police forces and strikebreakers to crush the threatened subway strike. Thus, after only two months in office, O'Dwyer was giving Truman himself stiff competition for the title of America's No. 1. Strikebreaker.

Marcantonio's omission of these infamous two months from his radio speech on O'Dwyer's strike-breaking record is not due to forgetfulness but to the fervent wish that others would forget. For the truth is that in early 1946, Marcantonio and the American Labor Party were supporting O'Dwyer. They had nominated him on the ALP ticket and campaigned vigorously for his election as a "labor-progressive" mayor.

These facts thoroughly demonstrate that Marcantonio is not now and has never been a genuine labor politician. His ardent espousal of the cause of the working man turns out to be cheap and cynical demagogy.

There is only one political party in this campaign which fights unceasingly against capitalism, strikebreakers and betrayers inside the labor movement, and which has consistently fought for a genuine independent labor party. That is the Socialist Workers Party, whose candidates are Michael Bartell for Mayor; Harry Ring for Comptroller; Gladys Barker for President of the City Council; and Harold Robbins for Borough President of Manhattan.

NEW YORK SWP CANDIDATES SPEAK AT STREET MEETINGS

NEW YORK, Sept. 20 — Three inspiring open-air meetings marked the launching of the Socialist Workers Party's municipal election campaign in the streets of the workers' districts here last week.

Michael Bartell, the SWP candidate for Mayor, opened his campaign in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn at the corner of Hopkinson St. and Pitkin Ave. For many years this corner was the heart of a Stalinist stronghold where Trotskyist speakers met violent physical attacks from Stalinist goon squads and young workers who were misled by the vicious slanders of the Stalinist leaders.

Not so now. The corner was filled with workers who listened intently for hours to Bartell and other SWP speakers. Long after the police forced the shutting off of the loud speaker, Bartell continued to speak and answer the numerous questions from an audience which seemed ready to keep him there all night.

A similar response from workers who gathered around the platform was given to Harry Ring, the party's candidate for Comptroller, who initiated the campaign on the East Side of Manhattan at Norfolk and Delancey, and to Gladys Barker, SWP candidate for President of the City Council, who made her opening speech before a large gathering of Negro workers at 116th St. and Lenox Ave. This week Harold Robbins, candidate for President of the Borough of Manhattan, will continue the campaign at another street meeting in the East Side.

The success of these meetings testifies to a growing interest in the Socialist Workers Party among workers in New York. Thousands of copies of campaign literature were distributed at these meetings and many copies of **The Militant** were sold. In addition, a considerable number of workers filled out interest cards requesting further information on the party's program and activities.

It was to these workers particularly that Michael Bartell directed his remarks when he said, **"The Socialist Workers Party wants not only your vote. It wants you! Join our ranks in the fight to establish a workers' city government in New York, a Socialist America and a Socialist World."**

Catholic Paper Fights CIO Union

CLEVELAND — The **Catholic Universe Bulletin,** official organ of the Cleveland Catholic Diocese, has filed with the National Labor Relations Board for an election to oust the Cleveland CIO Newspaper Guild as bargaining agent for the **Bulletin** employees.

This action was reported to the Cleveland CIO Council by Gene Kelley, **Bulletin** employee and ACTU whip in the council.

A right-wing coalition, in which the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists is the dominant influence, has had complete control of the CIO Council since its last election. Thus the Catholic hierarchy not only runs the CIO council from the inside, but is also attempting to break up a CIO union in its role as employer.

This revelation of the true attitude of the hierarchy toward the union movement has caused some consternation and a great deal of discussion in Cleveland union ranks.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Detroit Trotskyists Go Over the Top In Sub Campaign

The campaign of the Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party for subscriptions to **The Militant** reached a successful conclusion, Literature Agent **Howard Mason** reports. The branch set a goal of 100 subscriptions. They secured 119. Our congratulations to the hard-working Detroit sub-getters. They have given an excellent demonstration of what good organization, persistence and enthusiasm can accomplish in building up the circulation of **The Militant.**

M. Jones, reporting for **Youngstown,** sent in eight subscriptions, the first returns in the branch's campaign. "We hope to be able to send more next week."

The **Buffalo** comrades are continuing to make a good showing in their campaign for subscriptions. Last week **Charles C.** sent in seven subs. "All are from steel workers."

G.L.C. tells us that the **Philadelphia** Trotskyists and their friends are beginning regularized follow-ups for renewals to **The Militant. "Harold, Alma** and **Betty** have already gone out and obtained the renewals sent in with this letter." Plans are under discussion to increase sales of literature and subscriptions at union meetings, public gatherings and on the campus. For distribution at a Stalinist meeting, Philadelphia ordered 100 extra copies of the Sept. 12 **Militant** protesting the hoodlum assault on civil rights at Peekskill.

Literature Agent **Fred Martin** of **Milwaukee** sent in four subscriptions. "We are going to use all the opportunities possible to step up our literature sales in the future," he writes. "We sold three copies of the **Fourth International** and a few pamphlets at our last public meeting."

Chicago's Literature Agent, **Howard Anderson,** reports that a long-time subscriber to **The Militant** there contributed $5 to help get out the paper. Our thanks to this reader. It's such contributions that keep us on the firing line.

Reporting for **Flint,** Literature Agent **O. Daniels** sent in another payment in the campaign being conducted under the slogan, "Let's Pay Up Our Militant Bill." Compared with what is needed to get out **The Militant,** writes Comrade Daniels, these dollars "probably seem like mere drops in the bucket, but believe me, we are draining the bucket dry to collect these drops." The Flint comrades are showing in the most practical way possible how well they appreciate the importance of keeping America's leading socialist weekly appearing regularly.

H.M.S. of California on renewing his subscription commended **The Militant** for defending the civil rights of the Stalinists. H.M.S. emphasizes the fact that this does not mean he sympathizes with Stalinism. "Rest assured that of the two I favor your position by far, and the Stalinists are out. I am a Conscientious Objector and it is mainly this one factor that leaves you and me split. Your paper is good and the news coverage comparatively unslanted; so this much we have in common: I know a good journal when I see one."

New York
Public Meeting
The Tito-Stalin Conflict
Hear the Trotskyist analysis
Speaker:
GEORGE CLARKE
Editor, **Fourth International**
Sun., Oct. 9 8:00 PM
ADELPHI HALL
74 - 5th Ave. near 14th St.

Subscriptions: $2 per year; $1 for 6 months. Foreign: $3.50 per yr; $2 for 6 mos. "Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879."

THE MILITANT
Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9330)
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 3c each in U.S., 4c each in foreign countries.
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XIII - No. 39 Monday, September 26, 1949

TROTSKY

"In the period of crisis the hegemony of the United States [in the capitalist world] will operate more completely, more openly, and more ruthlessly than in the period of boom. The United States will seek to overcome and extricate herself from her difficulties and maladies primarily at the expense of Europe, regardless of whether this occurs in Asia, Canada, South America, Australia, or Europe itself, or whether this takes place peacefully or through war."

—Leon Trotsky, "Third International After Lenin."

LENIN

Vishinsky's "Optimism" on UN

The Kremlin's Foreign Minister Andrei Y. Vishinsky arrived in this country the other day all bubbling with "optimism" about the United Nations, whose General Assembly opened its fourth session on Sept. 20. Stalin's mouthpiece opined that "the Soviet delegation feels confident that the United Nations is — as the head of the Soviet government, Stalin, has said — a serious instrument for the maintenance of peace and international security."

How "serious" the UN is as an instrument to accomplish anything, let alone the maintenance of peace and international security, can be seen from its four-year record as a mere sounding-board for the propaganda of the U. S. State Department and the Kremlin as they jockeyed for advantages in the "cold war."

You have only to read the proposed agenda for the current UN General Assembly to see how remote the UN is from the great and concrete issues and events that are molding the future of the world. The agenda is mainly broad, generalized and vague topics that make for streams of discussion and oratory having no bearing on the real and decisive developments.

These real developments are taking place outside the sphere of the UN and its influence. On the very day the UN assembly opened its session and Vishinsky spieled his little piece to the press, the headlines were dominated by the announcement of the devaluation of the British pound and of the currencies of 21 other countries.

This stupendous development in the world-wide capitalist crisis will have a decisive bearing on peace and international relations. Yet the action of the British, French and 17 other governments in devaluing their currency was taken without reference to the UN.

On the same day the UN assembly convened, the U. S. Senate opened its debate on the multi-billion dollar foreign arms-aid program, designed to implement the North Atlantic military alliance. This arms program and military alliance simply ignore the UN, yet they are overwhelming factors in the question of war or peace.

Vishinsky's "optimism" may reflect some little temporary deal the Kremlin hopes to effect with U. S. imperialism. But the Stalinist propaganda designed to bolster UN prestige and palm it off as a "serious instrument" for peace helps to disorient the mass struggle against war and deflect attention from the concrete economic, political and military events which are really deciding the fate of mankind.

Bosses' Way of Fighting--and Murray's

One of the things that stand out in the whole struggle in the steel industry is the difference between how the steel owners fight for their interests and how the union leaders fight for the interests of the workers.

Throughout the whole controversy, the steel barons have been firm and resolute. They have never stopped throwing punches with both hands. They battle for every advantage, concede nothing in advance. They are bold, aggressive and uncompromising.

How weak and flabby Murray and the other steel union leaders seem by contrast. They have yielded one concession after another. They ran to Truman, instead of depending on the power in action of their tremendous steel union and the backing of the mighty CIO. Murray virtually agreed in advance to whatever Truman's "fact-finding" board might offer. And he hastened to accept, without qualification, the board's miserable recommendations which would give the steel workers next to nothing.

The contrast between the determined, fighting attitude of the steel bosses and the conciliatory, timorous attitude of the union leaders appears all the more striking when we consider what each side represents.

The steel industry representatives speak for a handful of parasitic exploiters whose only interest in society is the luxury and privileges they can drain from the toil of the many.

The CIO Steel Workers leaders speak for a million steel workers whose labor has created the wealth that keeps the steel bosses in luxurious idleness.

Yet Murray does not act like a leader of powerful forces who have all right and justice on their side. He is always on the defensive, always looking around nervously for some avenue of retreat.

It is not because the steel bosses are so strong but because the union leaders are so weak and craven that the employers dare to fight so aggressively. Whenever the workers — as in 1946 — throw their organized might into action, the bosses' front crumples.

If the steel workers and the rest of the CIO members had a leadership who would fight with as much boldness as the steel corporations have shown, if the steel moguls had been convinced from the start that Murray meant to lead a real battle, the issue of the "fourth round" wage boost and decent pensions would have been settled long ago — and to the workers' advantage.

More of the Same

The Negro struggle for social, economic and political equality has grown so strong, militant and effective that politicians seeking Negro votes are compelled to promise some kind of action on civil rights. Accordingly, the Truman Democrats made lavish promises during the 1948 presidential campaign concerning the civil rights of the Negroes.

Almost a year has passed since the election but not one of these promises has been kept. Instead the Trumanites have given the Southern "white supremacy" Democrats generous patronage handouts, turned over to them most of the key posts in Congress and allowed them free rein to block civil rights legislation by a filibuster.

Today the Truman Democrats, looking ahead to the 1950 Congressional elections, are trying to cover up their double-cross by some more fancy talk about civil rights. At the moment the ball is being carried by former governor Herbert H. Lehman, the Democratic candidate to replace Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York who recently resigned from office.

Lehman's sugary line runs as follows: Discrimination in civil and political life is contrary to the fundamental principles of American democracy. Congress must immediately enact civil rights legislation. Appeasement of reactionaries will get us nowhere.

Fine talk! But at the same time the Democratic high command appointed one of the most notorious white supremacists, Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, to head the Civil Rights subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. When the newspaper reporters asked President Truman what he had to say about the appointment of this Negro-hater to a key post from which to sabotage civil rights legislation, Truman replied, "No comment." When they asked Senator Eastland what plans he had for legislation on behalf of the Negro people, he likewise replied, "No comment."

Once again the record proves that the Trumanites, like all other capitalist politicians, promise benefits to minority peoples and to the working class only to catch votes at election time. In office they violate these promises — always with a slick alibi — because the capitalist system which they defend bases itself on inequality and oppression.

Reliance on capitalist politicians is a fatal error. The Negro people can win social, economic and political equality only by uniting with the working class to build a mass political party independent from the capitalist politicians and opposed to the capitalist system.

How Tito Hampers the Yugoslav Struggle

By George Breitman

The Yugoslav leaders recognize now that their conflict with the Kremlin is a struggle to the death. Whatever doubts or illusions on this score they may have had at the beginning of the rift, when for many months they carefully refrained from attacking Russian Stalinism, have been dispelled by Stalin's campaign of vilification, economic warfare and now the Hungarian "Moscow Trial."

They realize also that it is utopian to think that an isolated Yugoslavia, surrounded on most of its borders by Stalin's satellites, can long survive the murderous pressure being applied by the Kremlin. That is why they are now trying to break through and win support for their struggle to retain their independence by appeals to world public opinion. Out of necessity, their efforts to obtain mass support have led them to broaden the ideological basis of their struggle by attacks on key Stalinist principles and policies.

CURRENT CRITICISMS

Tito, for example, in a speech to a delegation of miners, rejected the idea that revolution could be spread only on the bayonets of the Soviet Army. This Stalinist concept, he warned, "means the demobilization of the revolutionary forces latent in every people and in every working class." (N. Y. Times, Sept. 14.)

This was in line with a previous article in Borba by one of Tito's lieutenants who condemned the Stalinist explanation that the French and Italian Communist Parties' post-war defeats were due to "the absence of the Red Army." Such an analysis, he wrote, "kills the internal revolutionary forces in every country and condemns them to wait for their liberation from abroad by the armed forces of the Soviet Union." (N. Y. Herald Tribune, Sept. 11.)

Even more sweeping was the line taken by Milovan Djilas, secretary of the Yugoslav CP Political Bureau, "whose main thesis was that present-day Soviet leaders have substituted a policy of international dictatorship operated from Moscow for Lenin's policy for the right of self-determination as one of the fundamental principles that must regulate relations among the Socialist countries.

". . . M. Djilas asserted that the Soviet leaders had so perverted Lenin's teachings that the interests of the world revolution had been subordinated to the selfish national interests of the Soviet state. He said that this had fatal consequences for the future of the Communist parties in the West" while "strengthening the hands of the 'imperialist' powers in resisting the revolutionary movement throughout the world." (N. Y. Times, Sept. 3.)

FAR CRY FROM 1948

These examples of the Tito regime's increasingly sharp differentiation from the policies of the Kremlin are a far cry from its initial pronouncements last year, when it sought, while denying the charges of the Cominform, to give the impression that except for its attitude toward Yugoslavia there was nothing fundamentally wrong with Stalinism, which it then equated with Leninism.

Moreover, these new criticisms of Stalinism in no way represent a capitulation to imperialist ideology, despite the slanders of the Stalinists. On the contrary, they give expression — although incomplete expression — to the revolutionary aspirations of the masses in Yugoslavia, Eastern Europe and even the Soviet Union, to whom Tito feels compelled to turn for support in his struggle with the Kremlin.

Nevertheless, the Yugoslav CP leadership has broken only recently from Stalinism, on whose ideology and methods it based itself for a long time, and its present policies show it. That is what makes its line appear as a curious mixture of fundamental Stalinist tenets on which are superimposed arguments and criticisms of Stalinist theories borrowed essentially from the Trotskyists.

TITO AND THE TRIALS

Nothing better illustrates the two-sided and contradictory position of the Tito regime than its attitude toward the current trial of Rajk and other ex-Stalinist leaders in Hungary. Understanding that this judicial mockery is really aimed at the Yugoslav leaders, Tito and his publicists have strongly condemned it as a frameup and have backed up their denunciations with more than enough evidence to prove it. Well and good and necessary for the continuation of the struggle against the Kremlin.

But there is something missing from the Yugoslav counter-accusations — and that is any mention of the Moscow Trials. Not a word about those infamous frameups has come from the Tito regime, although they followed essentially the same reactionary pattern as the present Hungary trial and were in fact the model and testing ground for all such frameups. Furthermore, the Moscow Trials were decisively discredited in world public opinion by Trotsky himself, by the International Commission of Inquiry headed by John Dewey and by the failure of the Stalinists to produce a single item of corroboration for their fantastic charges from the Nazi files at the Nuremberg trial.

REASON FOR SILENCE

Why then does Tito make no reference to these thoroughly exposed proceedings, especially when such a reference would surely buttress his contention that the Hungary trial is a frameup? Because to do so he would have to admit that he himself and the Yugoslav CP not only gave credence to the Moscow Trials and the purge of the Bolsheviks that accompanied them but persecuted all those revolutionists who broke with Stalinism over these crimes.

To do so, in short, he would have to condemn his own Stalinist past, repudiate the reactionary methods he learned in the school of Stalinism and re-evaluate the role of Stalinism as the organizer of world counter-revolution as well as foe of Yugoslav independence. And Tito is not prepared to do that, even though his silence on the Moscow Trials plays into the hands of the men in Moscow who have demanded his head.

Equally harmful to the Yugoslav struggle is Tito's continued adherence to the false, nationalist theory of "socialism in one country," first formulated by Stalin. In the same speech he made to the miners mentioned above, Tito declared: ". . . we say, just as Lenin once said in fighting Trotsky, that it is possible to create socialism in one country." (UP dispatch, Sept. 13.)

Contained here is an outright falsification. Lenin was never the protagonist of the theory of "socialism in one country," and neither was anyone else, including Stalin, prior to 1924 when Lenin died. It never even occurred to Marxists to speak in such terms.

Socialism is international by its very nature. To establish it the workers must not only organize production on a sane, planned basis by nationalizing the means of production and bringing them under social ownership but they must also overcome the national limitedness of the economy in the various countries by abolishing the reactionary restrictions imposed by national frontiers. In plain fact, genuine socialist planning and development of the means of production to the point of abundance required for socialism are impossible within a single country. Lenin not only knew this but he insisted on it and warned over and over again that the October Revolution must be extended beyond the boundaries of backward Russia or socialism could not be attained.

This did not mean that Lenin was opposed to building up and nationalizing the productive forces in Russia before the revolution was extended. And the Trotskyist struggle against the theory of "socialism in one country" was also not based on opposition to the greatest possible development of the economic foundations for socialism in the Soviet Union — that is, the nationalized economy. On the contrary, it was the Trotskyists who first advanced the idea of the Five-Year Plan as a means for industrializing the country, for which they were denounced and sneered at by Stalin as "super-industrializers."

What the Trotskyists opposed in this theory from the very beginning was its revision of Marxism along nationalist (that is, reactionary) lines. And in the quarter-century since this theory was promulgated, all of Trotsky's warnings against it have been confirmed to the hilt. For what began under the innocent theoretical guise of "socialism in one country" soon became transformed into the practice of "socialism in one country ONLY" when Stalin began to turn his back on the possibility of revolutions elsewhere, and ended up as "socialism in no country" because socialism is impossible unless it is based on the economy of a number of industrially advanced countries.

No theory in the working class movement has had more pernicious and disastrous effects than this one. Concerned only with preserving its own privileges in the Soviet Union, whose isolation produced the conditions for the rise of the bureaucratic caste led by Stalin, the Kremlin came to look on the Communist Parties in other countries as mere border patrols to be manipulated and where necessary sacrificed for the sake of diplomatic deals with the hostile imperialist world.

First employed to rationalize the Soviet Union's isolation, this theory was then used to justify the maintenance of the parasitic bureaucracy, its totalitarian police regime, slave labor camps and other abominations which are the distinguishing features of Stalinism. The Communist Parties abroad were purged of all dissidents, their interests were subordinated to those of the Kremlin's foreign policy, their right to play any independent role was rigorously denied. The authors of the theory were only carrying it to its logical conclusion when they smashed and strangled working class revolutions in other countries, as in Spain.

STILL CAN'T EXPLAIN

Today the Kremlin, still operating along the nationalist lines predicted by Trotsky, seeks to exploit the countries it dominates and not to help build up their economies; to extort revenue from them and not to let them organize freely into a federation of equals. The Yugoslavs, who are themselves among the chief targets of the Kremlin because they have dared to resist its super-nationalistic dictates, are still incapable of explaining the real causes of the clash because they won't grapple with this fundamental problem.

They charge that Stalin is opposed to independent revolutionary action by workers in other countries who are not subject to his discipline and orders. But why this is so they cannot explain. They charge that Stalin has subordinated the interests of the world revolution to the selfish interests of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. But again they cannot say why. They charge that he wants to destroy Yugoslavia's independence. But why they have never made clear. And the reason they can't is because they have not re-evaluated and themselves rejected the fundamental theories of Stalinism, foremost among which is the nationalist theory of "socialism in one country."

CLARITY NEEDED

We Trotskyists understand that the ideological confusion among the Yugoslavs is due in great part to their origins and long associations with Stalinism, and we don't expect that they will be able to rid themselves of their theoretical errors overnight. But we do maintain that the Yugoslav fighters for independence from the GPU, if they are to be effective in their appeals for support to the workers of the world, must themselves have clarity on the role and nature of Stalinism as an ideological and political system barring the way to the socialist liberation of mankind.

To introduce that clarity is our aim. And we shall pursue it without pause, just as we continue to support the progressive Yugoslav struggle for independence, despite the Tito regime's self-contradictory theories and half-way conclusions which only hamper the struggle.

Long-Coming Rail Strike

Missouri Pacific trains are at a stand-still as the result of 100% effective walkout by four operating railroad brotherhoods. Cause of the strike is 282 unsettled grievances, some 11 years old and involving more than $3,000,000 in claims, snarled for years in Railroad Adjustment Board files.

Yugoslavs Main Target Of Frameup in Hungary

(Continued from Page 1)

lin's agents in Yugoslavia have stepped up their activities there. Simultaneously with the opening of the Hungarian "trial" posters and pamphlets were spread in the center of Belgrade urging the immediate overthrow of Tito and his "Fascist Gestapo clique."

The dire implications of Stalin's latest move have been correctly diagnosed by those who are the main targets of the attack. On the eve of the Hungarian trial the Yugoslav government issued a 5,000 word statement denouncing the trial of Rajk and the seven other defendants as political frameup and part of the Kremlin's conspiracy to prepare the groundwork for a forcible overthrow of the Tito regime.

SHARPEST WEAPONS

And the truth of the matter is that Stalin now finds himself with no other recourse than the application of brute force in dealing with the Titoist opposition. He has tried other methods for more than a year and miserably failed. The pressure of the Cominform, the expulsion of the Yugoslav party from it and the Cominform attacks on the Tito regime proved worthless. The Kremlin then resorted to the sharper weapon of economic blockade in the hopes of either strangling Yugoslavia economically and thus bringing Tito to his knees, or driving his regime into open collaboration with the Western imperialists. But this also proved of no avail. The sharpest weapons of all had to be brought into play.

The Hungarian "trial" is tantamount to the unleashing of an undeclared war against Yugoslavia. The "confessions" of Rajk and the others concerning the aggressive military plots of the Yugoslavs merely supply a political cover for a possible military assault on Yugoslavia. It has been Stalin's longstanding practice to accuse his political opponents of the very crimes he had himself either committed or was preparing to commit.

All of Stalin's major political moves are combinationist in character. In addition to the central aim we have already outlined, the Hungarian trial is intended to serve other secondary but vitally important objectives.

First, there are the repercussions of the Tito-Kremlin rift within the Soviet Union itself. The danger of "Titoist" sympathies and tendencies, especially among the many subjected nationalities now under the Kremlin's heel is by no means a remote one. The longer Yugoslavia successfully resists the dictates of the Moscow despots, all the greater may become the inclination to follow Yugoslavia's example among the Soviet millions. The need to terrorize potential dissident elements at home is thus served by the Hungarian "trial."

Moreover, the break with Tito came as an unquestionable shock to the Soviet masses before whom Tito has been so long pictured as a legendary hero and a model disciple of Stalin while Yugoslavia herself had been depicted as a prize example of the "new people's democracies." The Kremlin is in dire straits for a plausible explanation of how all this became transformed literally overnight into just the opposite. The Hungarian "trial" with Rajk, the No. 2 Stalinist in the country, and other prominent figures, is supposed to provide a plausible explanation.

It turns out that they all were scoundrels for many long years before, serving as police informers in pre-war Hungary, aiding Franco forces in the Spanish civil war, or working for the French secret police, or the Gestapo, or the U. S. intelligence, and so on. By implication the very same thing holds true of Tito, Rankovich, and other high Yugoslav dignitaries. It would not at all be surprising, if the Kremlin, in addition to the "proofs" adduced at the Rajk trial, were suddenly to produce supplementary "evidence" that Tito and his colleagues had fulfilled a similar role in their past.

In the second place, the Hungarian trial is to play a special role in the satellite countries. Here it provides the signal for an intensified purge of all dissident or wavering elements, especially in Czechoslovakia which has remained relatively immune thus far.

One of the defendants at the Rajk trial testified that "Titoist-American" spy and conspiracy activity in Czechoslovakia was "even better than in Hungary." This was no chance remark. It has been immediately picked up by the Czech press and coupled with press warnings to all Czech "Titoists." The most recent reports are that a purge is now in progress among the Czech Stalinists, including high party dignitaries. These reports are still unconfirmed, but all indications point in that direction. Not at all excluded is a Czech trial on the "Hungarian pattern" or a series of similar trials in other satellite countries.

Visit your local headquarters of the

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

AKRON—For information, write P.O. Box 1342.

BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 10 Stuart St., open Wed. 5:30-9:00 p.m., social last Sat. of month.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MAdison 3960. Every afternoon except Sun.

CHICAGO—166 W. Washington Blvd. Rm. 312-314. Daily except Sun., 11:30 to 3:30; or phone for an appointment.

CLEVELAND — Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Pk. Ave.) Monthly Public Forum, 1st Sun., 8 p.m.

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-6267, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m.

FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8061.

LYNN, (Mass.)—Militant Publ. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p.m.

MILWAUKEE—817 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone Hopkins 2-5337.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Library, bookstore.

NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.) — For information write P. D. Box No. 659 or phone 3-3287.

NEW HAVEN—For information write, P.O. Box No. 1019.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-3574. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p.m.

NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Place. Phone GR 5-8149.

HARLEM—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23. Phone MO 2-1866. Open discussion. Thurs., 8 p.m.

BRONX—Hunts Point Palace, 953 Southern Blvd; Room 25. Every Fri. night at 8:30 p.m.

BROOKLYN — Mandel's Manor, 343 Pennsylvania Ave., off Sutter, meetings every Thurs. evening at 8.

CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone AL 5-2488.

OAKLAND (Cal.) — For information, phone TEmplebar 2-8153 or TEmplebar 2-3735, or write P. Montauk, 906-B Cypress St., Oakland 7.

PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p.m.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Forums 2nd Fri. each month. Marxist class 4 p.m. every Sat. Meetings every Thurs., 7:30 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m.

ST. LOUIS — "For information, phone PR 5305."

SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., R. 201, So. & Washington. Tel. Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meeting Tues., 7:30 p.m. Library, bookstore.

TOLEDO — Monthly open meeting, Fourth Tuesday, 8 p.m., Kappa Hall, 413 Summit, Room 2.

WORCESTER, (Mass.) — For information write P.O. Box 554, Worcester.

YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St., Phone 8-1855, Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIII | MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1949 | NUMBER 39

The Banker and the General

By Barry Brent

(With Apologies to Lewis Carroll and "The Walrus and the Carpenter")

The world was shaking in its boots,
Shaking like me and you,
Because it felt another war
Was making its debut,
And this was very odd, because
One war had just got through.

The atom bomb was looking up,
A frown upon its face,
Because it thought the battered world
Was taking too much space;
"Just give me one more chance," it said,
"I'll put him in his place."

Markets were bad as bad could be,
Jobs were as short as short;
The system was unsoldering
For lack of real support,
And war on Russia's planned domain
Seemed like its last resort.

The Banker and the General
Were walking hand in hand;
They wept like anything to see
This unexploited land;
"If it were — ah — 'democratized,'"
They said, "it would be grand!"

"If twenty million troops and planes
Swept it without a rest,
Do you suppose," the Banker asked,
"That it could stand the test?"
"I doubt it," said the General,
And stroked his padded chest.

"O Workers, come and march with us,"
The Banker cooed; "through me
Your country calls, and all of you
Will readily agree
Your freedom is small sacrifice
To keep your country free."

An elder worker heard his words
And didn't like them much,
As indicated when he raised
His arm, and shook his crutch,
Meaning to say that he would like
To get him in his clutch.

But then, with many puffs and sighs,
A little Bureaucrat
Came waddling up until the sweat
Was larding his cravat,
And this was scarcely odd, because
He was so very fat.

More of his species followed him,
All eager to obey;
They crawled upon their bellies, so
Respectable were they,
And sang "My Country 'Tis of Thee,"
And chanted, "Lead the way!"

The Banker and the General
Marched off, until they met
A dignified establishment
Conveniently wet;
"It's on the house," they cried, "the House
And Senate, so get set!"

When thus a shocking portion of
Our funds had sprouted wings,
"The time has come," the Banker burped,
"To talk of many things;
Of (hic) of reds, and acts, and pacts,
And the role of underlings."

"But first," beseeched the Bureaucrats,
"To show that we're sincere,
Please, may we lick your boots a bit,
And kiss you in the rear?"
"You may," replied the General.
They gave a senile cheer.

About halfway through this display,
The Banker snapped, "Pay heed!
A chained and docile working class
Is what we chiefly need
Before we dare pull off our plans
With hopes that we'll succeed.

"Therefore we must be sure that you
Will never cut your tether."
The Bureaucrats cried out, "We're yours
Through every kind of weather."
And then they all embraced, and sang
"The More We Are Together."

"It seems a shame," the lackeys grinned,
"To play them such a trick
After they've paid our salaries
So long without a kick."
At this the whole malignant gang
Guffawed till they were sick.

"O Workers," cried the General,
"Now will you heed my drum,
With your own leaders urging you
To not be troublesome?"
But answer came there none, because
The answer's still to come.

Back to College

By John F. Petrone

I go back to college this week. I am a sophomore now, in a college in New York City which is fairly liberal compared to most. For one thing, I don't have to take a non-communist oath, the way Texas students must every year. For another thing, the college is a private rather than a state institution, so the Feinberg Act does not apply, and the authorities in this school are not demanding such oaths from the faculty.

The authorities like to boast about the academic freedom that prevails in the school, and about the "objective presentation" of problems which permits students to hear both sides so that they can choose for themselves. But I don't know. Last year, no matter what the course was — history, political theory or literature — the teachers were always slanting their lectures so as to extol the virtues of capitalist democracy and to damn Marxism, directly or indirectly, as the inevitable breeder of totalitarianism. In many ways they reminded me of indoctrination courses in the Army, even if a little more subtle. I listened carefully and never once heard a teacher say anything faintly sympathetic to Marxism or faintly hostile to capitalist democracy. If students are really as impressionable as is claimed by legislators who support such measures as the Feinberg Act, they must have left the school last June believing that Marxism is the greatest evil in the world.

Now maybe I just happened to pick the wrong courses; maybe in other courses teachers are more objective. I don't know but I am willing to concede it because it doesn't make much difference, as I think I can show by what happened last week when I went down to sign up for my courses for the coming term.

Last year I had been undecided about one course in history given by a well-known fellow-traveler of the Stalinists; I didn't take it because it conflicted with another I had to take and because I was told that he had been giving the same course the first term of every school year for several years and would undoubtedly be giving it again this fall. But when I looked for it in the catalogue last week, it wasn't there any more. I asked the girl at the desk how come and she said that "he isn't with the school any more." I looked through the whole catalogue then, and discovered that three or four other fellow-travelers who had been teaching here last year also were not "with the school any more."

So maybe some teachers present both sides of questions to students and maybe students really are given a formal chance to choose for themselves. But at the same time the students can see that if they happen to choose the "wrong" side, they will open themselves to all kinds of reprisals affecting their livelihood as well as their reputation. They can see it not only by what happens to teachers who take the "wrong" side but also by such events as the Peekskill outrage, where the forces of "law and order" side with the hoodlums, encourage and aid them in their fascist violence and then open up a grand jury investigation of the victims of that violence. This pressure, operating on all students and not only on students who want to become teachers or government employees, may be applied differently in my liberal college than in Texas, but it is applied just the same and, in the long run, just as powerfully.

Notes from the News

CATHOLIC POWER IN ACTION — Two windows of the Beacon Press offices in Boston were smashed by stones on Sept. 6, Publishers Weekly reports. Beacon published Paul Blanshard's book, American Freedom and Catholic Power. And in New York City Macy's book department, after first resisting, has now capitulated to Catholic pressure and withdrawn the Blanshard book from its regular stock.

* * *

ANOTHER UNEMPLOYED — Earl Browder either quit or was fired from his job as American publishing representative of the Soviet Union last July. The former boss of the American CP says he is now looking for another job.

* * *

REPRESSIONS IN BOLIVIA — According to a UP dispatch from La Paz on Sept. 18, the Bolivian Chamber of Deputies has authorized the criminal courts to try eight of its members, including Guillermo Lora and Mario Torres of the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR), for their participation in the big strike struggles of last May. The Deputies voted to revoke their parliamentary immunity by a vote of 54 to 18.

* * *

PHILADELPHIA JUSTICE — A common pleas court in Philadelphia last week reversed the conviction of Bayard Jenkins, Negro youth who had been framed up and tried for the murder of a woman which another man had admitted he committed. Instead of letting Jenkins go free, however, the court ordered him held for a new trial.

* * *

OF COURSE NOT — "I want to make it clear that I am not backing Herbert Lehman," said Henry Wallace, whose refusal to run against Lehman on the ALP ticket means most ALP voters will support the Tammany candidate.

* * *

L. A. ROBESON RALLY — The Los Angeles City Council has called for a boycott of the Robeson rally to be held at Wrigley Field Sept. 30 (see story on P. 1). SWP Organizer Myra Tanner Weiss denounced this action and put responsibility for any violence that might occur at the rally on the shoulders of the Council.

FEINBERG ACT IN COURTS — The Communist Party has obtained a court order temporarily restraining the Board of Regents from publishing a list of so-called "subversive" groups whose members would be barred under the Feinberg Act from employment in the state's public school system.

* * *

A LITTLE TOO RAW? — The Senate rejected Truman's nomination of U. S. Steel Vice-President Carl A. Ilgenfritz as chairman of the Munitions Board because he insisted on continuing to draw his $70,000 a year salary from U. S. Steel as well as the $14,000 salary from the Munitions Board.

* * *

MASS SWEARING — A Progressive Party court suit challenging the New Jersey "loyalty" oath for all candidates for public office was thrown out of court in Newark last week. At the same time almost 100 Democratic and Republican candidates for office met in Trenton and took a mass "loyalty" oath.

* * *

FATE OF TAN MALAKKA — The Indonesia government press reported it had murdered Tan Malakka, revolutionary socialist, last April. However, Batavia dispatches to the July 15 De Volkskrat, Catholic paper in Holland, and to the Aug. 26 Glove and Mail in England said that despite all rumors as to his death, he is still alive, although it is certain someone resembling him was killed. Farrell Dobbs' Aug. 5 letter to L. N. Palar, chief Indonesian delegate to the UN Security Council, demanding information about this outrage, has still not been answered. The July 1 News from Indonesia, issued by Indonesia's Information Office in New York, writes that while Tan Malakka's execution was confirmed by the Republican delegation in Batavia, it was "denied by the former Republican Minister of Information Mohammed Natsir" in Merdeka, the official Republican newspaper. It adds: "Political observers in Java believe that the confirmation of Tan Malakka's death is directed to foreign nations that fear Communist influence within the Republic, while the denial is slanted for home consumption."

Stalinists Keep Their Control Of UE; Split Danger Mounts

NMU Convention Voting

President Joseph Curran addresses delegates as they vote on committees at the 7th convention of the CIO National Maritime Union. Curran supporters won control of all convention committees but suffered important setbacks on their drive to expel oppositionists.

CLEVELAND, Sept. 20 — The Stalinist machine decisively defeated the Carey-Murray-ACTU faction by 2,376 to 1,464 in the first roll call vote at the 14th Annual Convention of the CIO United Electrical Workers, which came at the close of the second day of bitter faction debate.

This roll call victory deflated floor-leader James B. Carey's confident predictions that his faction had a majority. With control of the convention in their hands, the Stalinists are tightening their grip on the union and carrying through their preparations for a split in the CIO which now appears certain.

The near 900 delegates came to the convention in Cleveland in two clearly-defined camps. On the first day the credentials committee made a partial report, seating 883 delegates without challenge and leaving in question only four locals with a total of ten delegates. The first test of strength occurred yesterday when the convention voted down Carey's proposal to hold the elections Friday instead of Wednesday. The Carey faction seems to have about 25% of the delegates, with a voting strength of about 40%.

The first roll call victory for the Stalinists came on the General Executive Board's resolution on "collective bargaining." The Matles-Emspak-Fitzgerald leadership was embarrassed by its bankrupt record of stalled negotiations with GE and Westinghouse and its policy of waiting for the steel and auto unions to take the lead. **They tried to cover up this record by criticizing Truman's steel "fact-finding" report and by bragging about the 300 "complete or partial settlements" reached by some UE locals.**

They summed up their perspectives for 1949 in one small paragraph which said: "The situation requires that the corporations meet the needs of the people. We therefore call upon the membership of the UE to close their ranks and fight to achieve the UE demands for $500 per year, per employee, to be applied towards an increase in wages and salaries, reduction of hours, improved pensions and health and insurance plans."

How? Matles explained that they were calling the GE and Westinghouse bargaining committees to meet next week and resume negotiations. "And we are not talking about a strike, we are talking about collective bargaining," he added in case anybody thought that his shouting about closing ranks, fight, militancy, etc. etc., was to be taken seriously.

Here was an excellent opportunity for militant and progressive UE members to demand an open accounting for the failure of the Stalinist leaders to make a real fight in negotiations with the major corporations and to demand that they take strike votes, set deadlines and show some of the fight that they are spouting and writing about every day.

CAREY'S POSITION

But the militants and progressives couldn't come to grips with the Stalinist hot-air artists because they were smothered under the controversy that opened up when Carey tossed in a minority report. By implication and in essence this report defended the steel "fact-finding" board and demanded that the UE get in line with the steel and auto unions by accepting the Truman's wage freeze and putting all its emphasis on pensions and social insurance.

On this all-important question, the wage fight in 1949, the Stalinists were able, by repudiating the steel report, to place themselves in the position of at least promising to fight for a wage increase this year while the Carey-Murray-ATU faction went down the line for Murray's position of accepting the Truman wage freeze in 1949 and a pittance for social insurance and pensions in 1950.

NOTHING TO GAIN

The delegates came from locals which have gone on record for the UE $500 wage increase-pension package. Despite their dissatisfaction with the Stalinist do-nothing leadership, they saw no reason to jump from the frying pan into the fire by accepting the Carey faction's proposal to string along with Murray on the 1949 wage freeze. And they saw nothing to be gained by replacing the Stalinists with that kind of leadership in the UE.

The debate was hot and heavy, lasting some three of four hours. The speeches of local union leaders reflected the chaos and confusion that the leadership has introduced in local negotiations. The Stalinist local leaders cited their gains, if any, charged sell-out settlements by right-wing leaders in their locality and accused Carey and his "lick-spittles" of sabotaging, disrupting and busting the UE.

The right-wing leaders answered in kind, charging that the Stalinists had isolated themselves from the CIO; were in a wilderness alone and discredited; and have made a political frolic of the UE. Carey taunted them by asking why they don't get Henry Wallace to give them a fact-finding committee. The CP criticism of the fact-finding report is an employers' analysis, like that of the NAM, he said, as he demanded the Stalinists quit criticizing the steel union leadership and go out and do something for the UE. Neither Carey nor any other right-winger mentioned a strike vote in GE or Westinghouse.

The best speech of this debate was made by Delegate Jennings of Sperry Gyroscope who did an annihilating job of exposing the New York Stalinist leaders and their record of failure in achieving any gains in negotiations. But his excellent exposure of the Stalinist was completely negated by his support of Carey's resolution. Frederick Kelly of Lynn, Mass., the Careyite presidential candidate, didn't even take the floor in this debate.

DANGER OF SPLIT

The convention passed a resolution from the GEB directing the general officers and such local officers as the GEB may hereafter designate to file affidavits in compliance with the "non-communist" oath requirements of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The Stalinist UE leaders' actions at this convention make it perfectly clear that they are stepping up their adventurous course of separation from the CIO. The GEB is recommending a constitutional amendment giving it authority to "discipline" any member on charges of fostering disruption or "secession from the UE" or "dual unionism."

Fitzgerald told the press tonight that the officers have prepared a resolution to auhorize the suspension of per capita tax payments to the CIO. He declared that the UE leaders would carry their fight into the CIO convention which opens here Oct. 31.

Carey issued a statement tonight that his group would remain in the UE "as long as it feels it has a chance of correcting the wrongs that exist."

Unless either or both factions make an unlooked-for reversal of policy, the UE is headed for a split or secession and faces the danger of being torn apart in civil war.

Buckmaster Leadership Issue at Rubber Parley

BULLETIN

TORONTO, Sept. 21 — L. S. Buckmaster was reinstated to the post of International President by the convention of the CIO United Rubber Workers tonight. The vote was 840 to 740 and followed a seven-hour debate. Buckmaster will be president at least until tomorrow, when regular elections will take place.

TORONTO, Sept. 20—The faction battle which has gripped the CIO Rubber Workers Union for the past two years was climaxed last May with the suspension from office of International President L. S. Buckmaster through the action of the majority of the Executive Board which belongs to the opposing faction.

The 14th annual convention, now in session here, has the task of either turning the power back to Buckmaster and his faction, or definitely repudiating him and his administration by electing the opposing group of leaders to office. In either case, this convention will undoubtedly conclude the faction struggle of the recent past and usher in a new stage in the history of the rubber union.

The opening speech of Acting President Lloyd delivered the first day of the convention provides a good indication of the character of the anti-Buckmaster forces. The speech formally went along with the broad policy and leadership of the Murray machine of the CIO and included a whole section on the PAC policy to elect more "liberal" Congressmen to office in 1950.

The speech, however, was noteworthy for its absence of red-baiting and for its general fighting tone. Instead of calling on the convention to oust the "reds," Acting President Lloyd called on the delegates to fight for rank and file control over their union, for all-out support to the Goodrich rubber strike and the struggle for a fourth round of wage increases and pensions, for the elimination of area differentials, for an extension of the 6-hour day with no reduction in pay.

The speech was, in the main, non-factional and had only a few oblique references to the battle against Buckmaster, as when Lloyd declared that he was against dictatorship "in Germany, Russia or in the United Rubber Workers" and when he commented on how "during the last few years many of us have drifted away from basic principles of union democracy and union militancy."

The Lloyd-Bass forces plan to run George Bass, President of Goodrich Local 5 of Akron for the post of International President, H. R. Lloyd for Vice-President and F. M. Dickenson for Secretary-Treasurer. These men and their supporters constitute an authentic progressive group standing for a more militant type of unionism and represent in rudimentary form the rising opposition to the bureaucratism that has developed in the CIO in recent years. **The group is free of Stalinist influence and highly responsive to the feelings of the workers in the shops.**

The Buckmaster caucus, in contrast, represents the most conservative elements in the rubber union and in the recent local elections for convention delegates has relied heavily on red-baiting and reactionary appeals. Buckmaster himself is an extreme type of conservative business **unionist, who during his tenure** followed a consistently cowardly policy toward the corporations and even went so far as to conspire with them in getting workers fired who had participated in stoppages against speedup. At the same time, he was engaged in trying to consolidate a dictatorial machine under his personal leadership.

At last year's rubber convention in Omaha, Buckmaster defeated Bass for the presidency by 2 votes, 810 to 808, while the majority of the executive board was elected from among the anti-Buckmaster leaders. Instead of sharply changing his course in line with the obvious desires of the convention and adopting a more militant line, Buckmaster chose instead to crack down on the opposition in order to strengthen his own shaky position.

He openly violated the national Wage Policy Committee decision to conduct "Big Four" bargaining on an industry-wide basis and stepped up his dubious maneuvers and intimidation tactics against opponent locals. Buckmaster's foul campaign was crowned by the so-called "Pottstown incident" where he tried to remove the president of Local 336 of Pottstown, Pa., and which finally led to his own suspension from office after the Executive Board, sitting as a trial committee, found him guilty of malfeasance.

The Buckmaster forces succeeded in today's convention session in amending the Rules Committee order of business so that the Buckmaster appeal against the Executive Board action comes up for full debate as the first question tomorrow morning, the third day of the convention.

The delegates will have the opportunity of hearing both sides present their cases. The final vote on this matter will very likely provide a decisive indication as to who will be the next officers of the United Rubber Workers Union and what road this sixth largest affiliate of the CIO will travel in the coming period.

CURRAN PRESSES PURGE DESPITE CONSTITUTION

(Continued from page 1)

bership in any Nazi, Fascist, or Communist organizations.' Having become intoxicated with success, the Curranites coupled this amendment with another to expel any member "issuing, distributing or mailing literature that slanders, vilifies or discredits the union, its members or officials." Both amendments were wrapped in one package and submitted to the convention to be voted on together.

The opposition rallied to ward off this double-barrelled threat to the internal democracy of the NMU. Speaker after speaker took the floor to expose the real intent of the amendments. It was pointed out that the Stalinists were an isolated and discredited group in the union. Under the present constitution dozens of Stalinists have been expelled on charges brought by the officials. It was obvious that the proposed amendments were not required to deal with "disrupters" or "anti-union" elements, but were aimed at all critics and opponents to the Curran administration.

Former supporters of the Rank & File Caucus, which ousted the Stalinists from office last year, bitterly assailed the amendments as a violation of the pledges made by the Curran administration. The Curran group was charged with attempting to set up a totalitarian regime under the guise of a fight against Stalinist totalitarianism. Democratic rights which had been won in the fight against the Stalinists were being attacked by the present officials.

After heated debate, the "gag" and "purge" amendments were defeated in a roll call vote with 405 recorded in favor to 215 against. (The constitution requires a two-thirds majority before an amendment can be submitted for ratification by referendum.)

Following this setback the Curran majority pushed through an amendment to change the two-thirds rule so that a simple majority can submit amendments for ratification. This will have to be ratified before becoming part of the constitution. But the action is indicative of the bureaucratic temper of the Curran machine in setting aside the traditional safeguards of a minority. The opposition succeeded in beating down another amendment giving the National Office power to name a representative on trial committees which are now elected by the membership.

WHAT CURRAN WANTS

Curran is hell-bent on converting the union into an obedient tool of the American State Department subservient to the domestic and foreign policy of Washington. To carry through this program he must stifle all criticism and crush all opposition. Failing that, the mounting grievances and dissatisfaction of the membership will find expression in a revolt that can sweep the Curran machine from power in the search for a leadership that will express the needs and interests of the men who sail the ships.

Miners Strike Strengthens Hand Of Steelworkers

(Continued from page 1)

formula. They flatly asserted that if he meant they must agree in advance of negotiations to accept the recommendations of Truman's board, including the principle of pensions financed solely by the companies, they would not go along.

The position of the steel companies, together with the pressure put on Murray by the action of the miners, left Murray no out. In the meetings with Ching, Murray felt impelled to cling to the last thread of a concession — the principle of non-contributory pensions as against the companies' demand that the steel workers contribute to any insurance and pension plan.

TRUMAN INTERVENES

Ching's intervention proved fruitless, but gave the pretext for further intervention by Truman, who called for an extension of the truce, scheduled to terminate Sept. 25, until Oct. 1. Naturally, the steel companies have agreed, but still repeat they will not commit themselves to any concessions.

As this is written, Murray and the union's policy committee are meeting to decide whether to accept another truce. It is likely the strike will again be deferred. This will give Truman more opportunity to pressure the union to re-enter negotiations without binding the companies in the slightest.

Whether the steel moguls will finally force the union to strike remains a moot question. They may use the bait of a picayune concession on pensions to catch a commitment from Murray to a long-term agreement that will preclude any further concessions for several years. This is a distinct danger to the steel workers.

Murray remains in mortal fear of a strike, but dare he shave his demands down any further? He has agreed to accept the steel board's recommendations for a wage freeze. He has agreed to negotiate the amount of insurance and pension payments. All he is holding on to is a shadow of a concession — the principle of non-contributory pensions. He can yield that shadow now only at the cost of a further blow to what remains of his prestige among the workers.

Subscribe to
THE MILITANT